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ABSTRACT

Since the most pervasive ethic of American journalism is that of objective news reporting (the apparently impartial reporting of verifiable data from a detached point of view), a study examined how and to what extent general news reports differed over time in terms of objective reporting. The news content in six representative daily newspapers for three 10-year periods (1865-1874, 1905-1914, and 1925-1934) was analyzed according to the following criteria for objective news reporting: it contains only verifiable assertions, does not make claims to significance, and avoids statements of prediction, value, advocacy, or inductive generalizations without clear attribution to source. For the analysis 360 news reports--120 from each time period--were coded from 90 weekday issues of the newspapers. Findings indicated that objective news reports increased progressively from the earliest period to the later period for each of the newspapers. Wire news had no statistical effect on whether the news reporting was objective or nonobjective in any of the three time periods. Use of authoritative news sources and the inverted pyramid format ascended with the objective story, though the inverted pyramid appears to have made a faster ascent. The data also indicate that New York journalism was no less objective than that of other areas. While a study of these time periods provided revealing data, further study is needed to investigate the progression of these aspects of the news report between 1874 and 1905. Five data tables and a four-page list of references conclude the document. (SRT)

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OBJECTIVITY ETHIC IN SELECTED DAILY NEWSPAPERS, 1865-1934

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Abstract

This paper discusses objectivity as the underlying ethic of news reporting and explores its origins. A content analysis of the general news reports of six representative U.S. daily newspapers found that objectivity was not widely practiced in 1865-1874, was common in 1905-1914, and normative by 1925-1934. Incidence of objective reporting was apparently not influenced by the introduction of telegraph and wire services and there is also no apparent difference between news reports of New York City newspapers and those of other cities.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OBJECTIVITY ETHIC IN SELECTED DAILY NEWSPAPERS, 1865-1934

The most pervasive ethic of American journalism is that of objective news reporting, or the apparent value-free impartial reporting of observable or verifiable factual data from a detached, impersonal point of view. Objectivity forms the core of the Code of Ethics of the Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi. Other ethical matters such as payola, conflict of interest, withholding information, and deception become ethical problems for the news reporter because they compromise objectivity, bringing into question the impartiality, or purity, of the news report. Advertising, newspaper business practice, and the opinion function may rest on other ethical foundations, but the news function, the news story, rests squarely on objectivity. In a qualitative study of professional journalists' perceptions concerning ethics, Mills (1983) found that most respondents equated ethics with objective news reporting.

Origins of the ethic of objective news reporting are uncertain and widely debated. Some have noted (Shilen, 1955; Bradley, 1985) that colonial printers pledged to report the news factually, truthfully, and impartially but

were soon forced into other modes by conditions of the times. Impartiality is not the same as objectivity (Bradley, 1985), though it serves the same purpose of protecting the newspaper's credibility with its readers. An objective report must necessarily be impartial, but an impartial report need not remain detached and impersonal, nor need it report only verifiable data. At what point did the non-objective journalism of the Federalist Papers become the journalism of the "unvarnished fact"? The telegraph and press associations may have influenced it (Shaw, 1967; Carey 1981), it may have been a response to chaos in the international scene before World War II (Smith, 1980), it could have risen to serve the needs of a commercial newspaper press in the mid-1800s (Schiller, 1979, 1981), or perhaps it was a defense against propaganda, news management and public relations after World War I (Schudson, 1978). Blankenburg and Walden (1977) found that economy may be a rationale for objective reporting.

Among 14 charges against the American newspaper press brought by Wilmer (1859) in what Mott (1950) called "the first book devoted wholly to criticism of the American Press" (p. 311) were that the papers published misleading reports, withheld useful information, practiced Toryism and villainous deceptions. One may conclude, then, that Wilmer, a former editor, expected complete unbiased, untainted reports of news happenings as the legitimate obligation of

the newspaper press in the mid-1800s.

Crawford (1924) devoted three chapters to objectivity in what is regarded as the first major academic treatise on journalistic ethics, but not one of the 18 codes and canons of various papers and press groups which he appends to his work mentions the word "objective" or "objectivity." Nearly all, however, demand reverence for facts and impartiality in the news report. Crawford connects objectivity to the scientific method and states that "verifiable facts are the only sure way to dependable conclusions" (p. 28). He provides a rationale for journalism as a professional service occupation which serves the public by providing the necessary facts for dependable conclusions. Ross's (1911) handbook on newswriting emphatically demanded objectivity in newswriting, quoting from an editorial in the St. Louis *Republic* that the reporter must "keep himself, his prejudices, preferences, opinions, out of the story altogether" (p. 17).

Carey (1969) suggests that journalism was among occupations redefined in the 1890s and that the journalist was at that time "converted downwards" from a literary role to a technical role in the process of professionalization. Professionalization, of course, brings with it the concern for ethics. Barber (1963) lists the construction of a code of ethics as the second of seven steps through which an emerging profession passes. Credible arguments have been

advanced, however, that codes of ethics are inappropriate for the journalism profession (Black & Barney, 1985). Will Irwin. in his 1911 series for *Colliers* on the American Newspaper (Irwin, 1969) credits James Gordon Bennett with invention of news, a novelty which succeeded the editorial journalism. News was demanded by the readers of the penny press and the supremacy of the editorial faded. "And before the Civil War we find our press transformed. The preacher has become a gossip, the evangel a bellman" (p. 12). Irwin placed supreme importance on news being free from "undue bias and taint" (p. 30) and lists truth as the primary ethic of news reporting (p. 41). A decade later, Walter Lippmann was to sharply distinguish between news and truth, saying that news signalizes an event while truth brings to light hidden facts and sets them in relation to one another (Lippmann, 1922, p. 226).

In the post World War I era Lippmann (1920) declared that the war raised serious questions about the quality of information provided to mass audiences (pp. 49-51). Lippmann believed newspapers should be conduits of information. "The news of the day as it reaches the newspaper office is an incredible medley of fact, propaganda, rumor, suspicion, clues, hopes, and fears, and the task of selecting and ordering that news is one of the truly sacred and priestly offices in a democracy" (p. 47). And further, ". . . the health of society depends upon the

quality of the information it receives" (p. 80).

In the New Deal era, FDR's Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes challenged the "objective point of view and fairness" of the metropolitan newspaper press, making specific reference to the Canons of Journalism of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. He charged that the papers violated the canons by misrepresenting, distorting, coloring, and lying in the news reports (Ickes, 1939, pp. viii-ix).

The report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press in the post World War II period focused attention on the notion of reporting facts in context and ushered in a continuing discussion of the social responsibility of the press in reporting news. Reconciling social responsibility and interpretative reporting with the long-standing ethic of objectivity creates dilemmas. In this mode of reporting, journalists are no longer mere conduits for facts but become involved at least to the extent of indicating what readers may do with the facts. Several researchers distinguished among such ethical orientations among journalists as neutral and participant or objective and activist (Johnstone, Slawski, & Bowman, 1972; Drew, 1975; Janowitz, 1975; Phillips, 1977; Starck & Soloski, 1977; Culbertson, 1979; Lichter & Rothman, 1981). Others explored attitudes of professionals toward objectivity (Tuchman, 1972, 1978; Boyer, 1981; Hartung, 1981; Levy, 1981).

Based on accumulated literature, origins of the objective news reporting may be placed somewhere between the rise of the penny papers in the 1830s and the post World War I 1920s, a span of nearly a century. And although the legitimacy of objectivity as a news ethic was already being questioned in the 1950s (Shilen, 1955), it came under increased attack in the 1970s and 1980s (Tuchman, 1972; Smith, 1980; Hager, 1982; Glasser, 1984) and while much was found wanting, no one has proposed a satisfactory replacement (Christians, 1977; Korn, 1984). Objectivity, then, is a primary ethic of news reporting, but its origins and destination are hazy at best.

Statement of the Problem

This study examined the news reports in selected representative daily newspapers of three 10-year periods 1865-1874, 1905-1914, and 1925-1934 to determine how and to what extent the general news reports of these periods differed over time in terms of objective reporting.

Need for the Study

Although most previous studies placed the rise of objective reporting somewhere between 1865 and 1934, only two studies (Shaw, 1967; Schiller, 1981) included systematic examinations of the newspapers themselves, and both of these contained narrow referents. Shaw examined Wisconsin daily

newspapers in election years from 1852 to 1916 and studied only news reports mentioning national political candidates; Schiller examined crime news only as it appeared in the *National Police Gazette* for a five-year period. As neither study can safely be generalized to the general news report, a broader study is needed.

An examination of the influence of wire news on objectivity also is needed. Shaw (1967) found that the introduction of the telegraph was accompanied by a sharp rise in objective political reports. Although the view that telegraph ushered in objective reporting was supported by Carey (1981) and others, it was disputed by Schudson (1978) who argued that wire service could as well have caused newspapers to seize an opportunity for different kinds of reporting and (b) that objective reporting did not become the norm in the late nineteenth century when the Associated Press was growing (pp. 4-5, 31-35).

Study Questions

This study attempts to answer the following questions concerning the general news report:

(1) To what extent is objective news reporting evident in the general news reports of selected U.S. daily newspapers in each of the three 10-year periods and how does this quality of the news report differ among the periods?

(2) At what point did objective reporting become the

standard reporting method for the general news reports of U.S. daily newspapers?

(3) Does wire news differ from non-wire news in terms of objective reporting within and among the time periods under study?

(4) Is there evidence that the general news report of newspapers in New York City differ from other major dailies in terms of objective reporting within and among the time periods?

(5) Is objective news reporting related to (a) the practice of citing authoritative sources of information and (b) the practice of structuring the story in inverted pyramid form?

Delimitations

The study is concerned with the general news report of daily newspapers only. Other content, such as feature stories, editorials, advertisements, columns, photography, and other non-news material is beyond the scope of the study. The ethic of objectivity is a function of news reporting. Although "truth" and "fairness" may be demanded in other content, the demand for objectivity is generally restricted to that content offered up as "news."

For practical reasons, the study also excludes specialized news content such as sports, financial news, and social items when these are set apart from the general

news report. Objectivity is usually demanded of professionals in those areas, but a study of general news reports provides a workable design for study of the rise of objectivity as a news ethic.

Definitions

Objective News Reports are defined from principles outlined by Hayakawa (1978, pp. 32-47), journalism textbooks (Hage, Dennis, Ismach, & Hartgen, 1983, pp. 14-29; Izard, Culbertson, & Lambert, 1983, pp. 95-100; MacDougall, 1982, pp. 25-52, 76-94) and previous studies (Shaw, 1966, pp. 57-60; Shilen, 1955, p. 2). A news report is a timely item reporting an event, situation, opinion, or other matter of interest to readers of the newspaper. It is an objective news report if it contains only verifiable assertions, does not make claims to significance, and avoids statements of prediction, value, advocacy, or inductive generalizations without clear attribution to source. As here defined, objectivity is a reportorial form. No attempt is made to "second guess" motives of the writer or editor or to ascertain what was not reported. If the writer (editor) has not strayed beyond observable or verifiable data, the story may be considered objective. That this definition permits potentially biased material to be counted as objective need not concern us because the extent to which an objective reportorial style is used provides evidence of the presence

of the ethic of objectivity.

Wire News is that content which clearly arrived by telegraph or other instantaneous transmission whether or not it is labeled as such.

Authoritative Sources are those news sources holding "official" positions such as judge, police, mayor, or senator.

Inverted Pyramid is the standard journalistic form with summary lead followed by explanation of the lead, then further details.

Method of Study

To resolve questions about characteristics of the news report in American daily newspapers a content analysis of six representative dailies was conducted covering the three 10-year periods.

Berelson (1952, p. 18) defined content analysis as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication," and stated that it may be used to describe trends in content and to discover stylistic features. Krippendorff (1980, p. 21) defined content analysis as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context." He suggested that Berelson's requirement of quantification was too restrictive and that qualitative methods may be successful in some

endeavors (p. 22). Stempel and Westley (1981, pp.120-121) argued that qualitative and quantitative are not mutually exclusive in content analysis, suggesting that qualitativeness is subsumed in the requirement that content analysis be systematic.

The problem at hand is that of describing objectively, systematically, and quantitatively the general news report of American daily newspapers of 1865-1874, 1905-1914 and 1925-1934 in terms of qualities relating to objective reporting and to compare the reports of the three 10-year periods.

The Sample

Selecting a sample for this problem involves three stages: (a) the newspapers, (b) issue dates, and (c) reports within the issues. The appropriateness of the sample must be determined by the study and the phenomenon or variables to be observed. Wimer and Dominick (1983, pp. 143-146) correctly observed that, while usual procedures for sampling are generally applicable, sampling of content involves special considerations.

The Newspapers. It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to draw a random sample of all daily newspapers published in the United States during the three periods of this study. But for a study of the news story as a form, a selection of a handful of leading newspapers should suffice,

and it should not matter which edition is used. In selecting newspapers for this study, sampling error was not a particular problem. This was fortunate because the study was limited by available materials.

Six newspapers in the study include representatives of geographic regions North, South, and West, two New York City papers, and one prominent regional daily. Selection of these particular newspapers was part of the research design, not a sampling procedure. Selection of newspapers for the study was necessarily limited by the number of daily newspapers in continuous publication through the period of the study, and by availability of files and microfilm to study. All but one of the six newspapers are still in publication. Each has been prominent in American journalism throughout the period of the study and could be presumed to have exerted more than passing influence on the shape of journalistic practice over time. All, save the regional daily, published in major metropolitan centers, and most survived a variety of competitors. These papers may be expected to reflect the accepted standards of news reporting practiced in this country during the period of the study.

The group included a Northern metropolitan daily, the *Chicago Tribune*, which began publishing in 1849; a prestigious Southern daily, the *Atlanta Constitution*, which began in 1868; a West Coast daily, the *San Francisco Examiner*, which began in 1865; a prominent regional daily,

the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* which began in 1837; and two New York City newspapers, the *New York Times* which began in 1851, and the *New York Tribune* which began in 1841, became the *New York Herald-Tribune* in 1924 and closed in 1966.

The Issues. The periods of the study encompassed 7,800 weekdays, 2,600 in each of the three 10-year time frames. The concern, rather than sample size, was to select the dates systematically from the time periods. The sample was drawn from a population consisting of news reports published on weekdays in six selected American daily newspapers published during the three periods of the study. Although some writers trace objective news reporting to the penny press in the 1830s, there is general agreement that the it grew and developed sometime between the Civil War, along with the introduction of the telegraph, and World War II, a span of nearly 100 years. This sample was drawn from a time span extending from the post Civil War era to the pre-World War II era.

The papers were sampled in stratified samples of five weekday issues each within each 10-year cluster, resulting in 30 issues in each period for a total of 90 issues. Each newspaper was sampled in a constructed week in each time period with issue dates selected randomly to fill the array. Saturday and Sunday editions were eliminated from the sample because the study dealt with the general news report which is best exemplified by weekday editions. Weekend editions

may be expected to vary widely among papers and across time in both form and content. Thus, weekday issues were expected to provide a more uniform sample through time and among the papers.

The Content. Four news reports were coded from each issue, two from the major news page and two from a secondary news page. These were selected by dividing the page into quadrants and selecting the dominant news reports beginning in two of the quadrants on the page, starting with a random selection of quadrant, then rotating. If no news report began in the quadrant, the report in the next quadrant was selected and rotation continued from that point. Reports which continued to another page were considered as complete on the page where they began and only that part of the report appearing on that page was studied. Although some early writers were known to append non-objective moralistic conclusions to stories, newspapers of that day typically did not jump stories. It was decided that, where jumped stories were concerned, that matter appearing before the jump would provide adequate opportunity to determine whether the story met the criteria for objectivity.

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis used to classify content in this study was the news story. This unit was both the recording and context unit because it is the "natural" unit.

Information about the content was recorded within the context of the story. The concepts being studied were best understood in context of the whole story and there appeared to be no very good reason for resorting to smaller measurements, such as column inches, assertions or words. Early research studies (Berelson, 1952, pp. 145-146; Budd, Thorp & Donohew, 1967, p. 35) indicate that counting items is about as productive as the more laborious task of measuring smaller units.

Categories of Analysis

Categories of analysis were those of objectivity, origin of the report (wire or non-wire), source of the information (authoritative source or other source), and form (inverted pyramid or other form). Stempel and Westley (1981, pp. 122-124) advised that categories be pertinent to the objective of the study, functional, and manageable. They suggested that the system of categories remains manageable if there are no more than 10. Budd, Thorp, and Donohew (1967, p. 39) advised that categories be appropriate, exhaustive, and mutually exclusive.

Findings

A total of 360 news reports were coded from 90 weekday issues of the newspapers. These included 120 news reports from each of the periods: 1865-1874, 1905-1914, and

1925-1934. Results for each issue were recorded on a coding sheet for later tabulation and analysis. A subsample consisting of 10% of the data was recoded on the objectivity variable by the author to determine intracoder reliability and by a second coder to determine intercoder reliability. Using Scott's *pi* formula, intracoder reliability was .84 and intercoder reliability was .76. Coefficients of .75 or more are generally regarded as acceptable using this method (Wimer & Dominick, 1983, pp. 152-156).

Objectivity and Time Period

Objective news reports increased progressively from the earliest period to the later period for each of the newspapers. (See Table 1.) Non-objective reports appear to have been the norm in the 1865-1874 period with objective reporting gaining the ascendancy before or during the 1905-1914 period. Objectivity appears to be firmly established by the 1925-1934 period with 80 percent of the sample being objective in that period.

Chi-square analysis (2, $N = 60$) yielded significant results for the *Examiner* (9.23, $p<.01$), the *Chicago Tribune* (13.17, $p<.01$), and the *Constitution* (6.45, $p<.05$). Results for the remaining papers approached the chi-square value of 5.99147 needed for $p=.05$ (5.90, $p<.10$, for the *Times-Picayune*; 5.22, $p<.10$, for the *New York Tribune*; and 5.71 $p<.10$ for the *New York Times*). For the total group (2, $N =$

360), the result was 40.15, $p<.001$.

Statistically true differences were found in frequency of objective news reports among the three periods: 1865-1874 vs. 1905-1914, $\chi^2(1, N = 240) = 14.08$, $p<.001$; 1905-1914 vs. 1925-1934, $\chi^2(1, N = 240) = 5.40$, $p<.025$; 1865-1874 vs. 1925-1934, $\chi^2(1, N = 240) = 36.87$, $p<.001$.

Objectivity and Wire News

Table A-2 presents frequencies and percentages of objective and non-objective wire news compared to non-wire news by time period. Chi-square analysis indicated that wire news has no statistical effect on whether the news is objective or non-objective in any of the three time periods.

Effects of News Sources and Story Form

There appears to be a strong relationship among objectivity, inverted pyramid, and use of authoritative sources. Statistically significant relationships were found between objectivity and the use of authoritative sources, $\chi^2(1, N = 360) = 28.02$, $p<.001$; between objectivity and use of inverted pyramid form, $\chi^2(1, N = 360) = 36.16$, $p<.001$; and between inverted pyramid and authoritative sources, $\chi^2(1, N = 360) = 26.40$, $p<.001$. The citing of authoritative sources and the use of inverted pyramid form increased progressively from the early time period 1865-1874 to the later time period 1925-1934. (See Tables A-3 and A-4.)

New York Newspapers vs. Non-New York Newspapers

Throughout, the results for the two New York City newspapers were similar to the other newspapers. Chi-square analysis indicated that any differences in the two groups were result of chance. (See Table A-5.)

Summary of Findings

Objectivity in the general news report was not widely practiced in the 1865-1874 period (40.8%), was common by the 1905-1914 period (65.8%), and was normative in the 1925-1934 period (80%). Percentage of objective reports does not differ significantly between wire and non-wire groups nor between New York and non-New York groups within time periods. (See Figure A-1.)

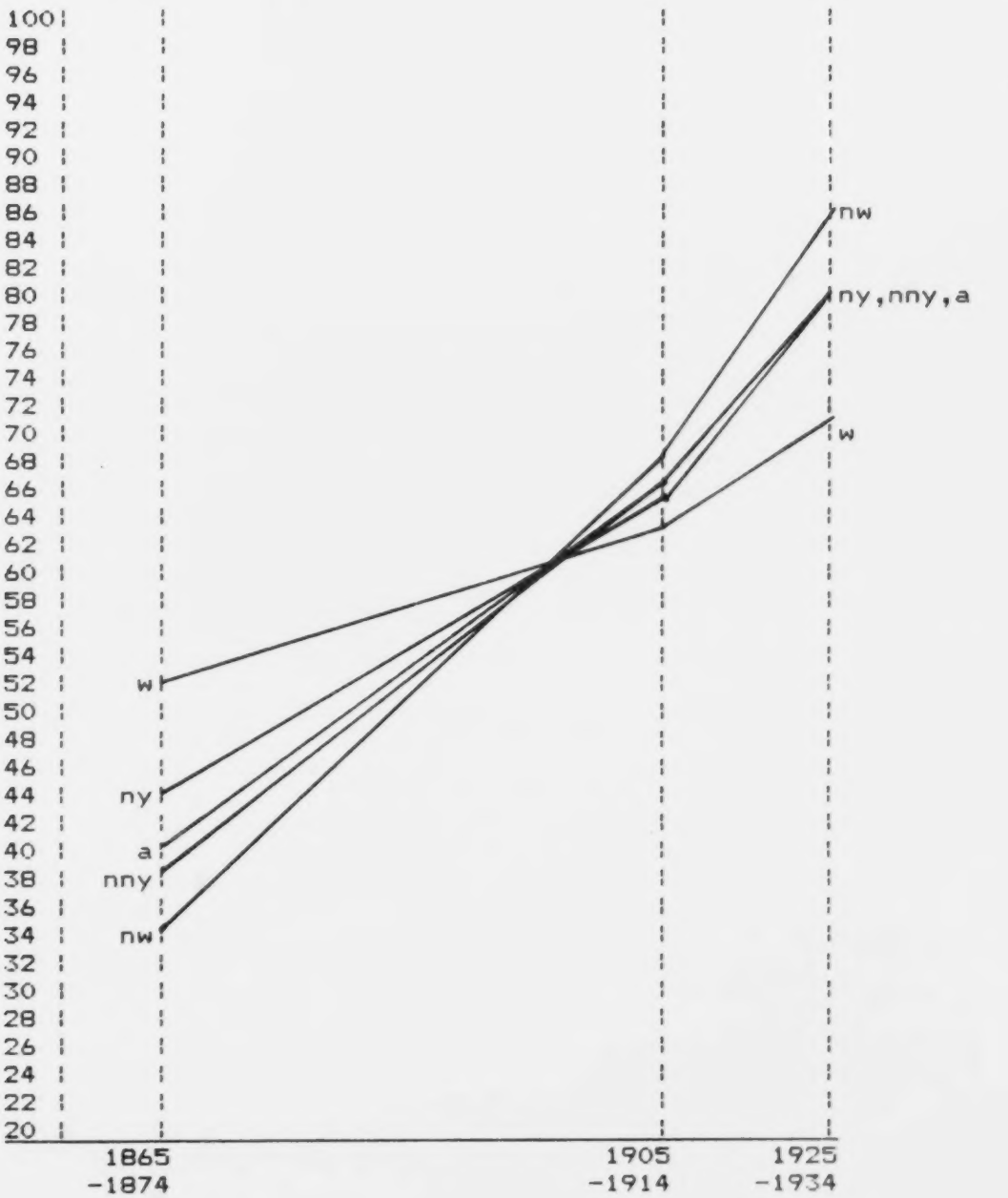
There appears to be a strong interrelationship among the qualities of (a) objective news reporting, (b) inverted pyramid format, and (c) citing of authoritative sources. These three qualities appear to rise together across the time periods to form the modern news report.

Discussion and Conclusions

Although objective news reports were evident in the general news report of the 1865-1874 period, such reports were not normative at that time. In that period, nearly two-thirds of the reports were non-objective. By the 1905-1914 period, about two-thirds of the report was objective,

Figure 1

Percent of objective news in time periods by New York (ny), non-New York (nny), wire (w), non-wire (nw), & all news (a)



and in the 1925-1934 period 80 percent was objective. Reflected in these figures may be the rise of the reporter and of reporting as a profession. The shift from editorial press to news press began in the 1830s with the demand for news in the penny papers (Irwin, 1969) but that century was fading into this one before "the age of the reporter" dawned. And it may have been some time later before the objectivity ethic became firmly established. Newspapers of the 1865-1874 period often carried as much editorial material as news material and subordinated both to advertising content. By 1905 the editorial page had taken form and was clearly segregated from and subordinated to news, both in quantity and in display.

The authoritative news source and the inverted pyramid format ascended with the objective story, though the inverted pyramid appears to have made a faster ascent. News reports of the 1800s usually cited no sources at all. In 1905-1924 news stories without sources still appeared and authoritative sources, though still in the minority (42.5%), were used twice as often as in the 1865-1874 period. After 1925 about two-thirds of the news reports cited authoritative sources, but many satisfied the objective story's demand for attribution with a form of passive voice non-attribution in which the reporter appears to disavow being the source of the information without actually listing a source. Such phrases as "was said to have been," "it was

reported tonight," or "it is understood that" appeared with some frequency, perhaps as a means of satisfying the technical demands of an objective report.

An often stated opinion that New York journalism is the bellwether of American journalism is not supported in this study. It may well be that journalistic innovations originate in the hinterland and move to New York. As Irwin (1969) noted of yellow journalism, "The seeds of yellow journalism . . . sprouted at St. Louis and San Francisco during the eighties; they came to fruition in New York, thrashing-floor for changes in journalism, during the early nineties" (p. 16). The data in this study suggest that the rise of objective news reporting, inverted pyramid, and authoritative sources were the same in New York as elsewhere.

The widely held opinion that objective reporting was the result of increased use of telegraph and news syndicates needs to be re-examined. While results of this study do not necessarily disprove the relationship, there is no support for the theory in these results.

While a study of the time periods included here provide revealing data, further study is needed to investigate the progression of these aspects of the news report between 1874 and 1905. Further study could also assess whether the publication of the Hutchins Commission Report on Freedom of the Press in 1947 resulted in a shift

in the ethic of objective reporting. The Commission's agenda for the press is generally stated as a demand for "social responsibility" and includes the principle that facts be reported in context and that the press serve as a forum for exchange of comment and criticism. Several research projects since then have distinguished among orientations of journalists as objective and activist or participant and observer (Johnstone, Slawski, & Bowman, 1972; Starck & Soloski, 1977) but study of the news report in this context is lacking.

Appendix

Tables

Table 1

Objective News Reports by Newspaper and Time Period

Newspaper	1865-1874	1905-1914	1925-1934
Examiner	40%	70%	85%
Chicago Tribune	25%	65%	80%
Constitution	45%	80%	75%
Times-Picayune	45%	50%	80%
New York Tribune	45%	60%	80%
New York Times	45%	70%	80%
Group Total	40.8%	65.8%	80.0%

Table 2

Frequency of Objective (ONR) and Non-Objective (NNR) News Reports by Time Period: Wire News vs. Non-Wire News

	Wire News		Non-Wire News	
	ONR	NNR	ONR	NNR
1865-1874	23 (52%)	21 (48%)	26 (34%)	50 (66%)
1905-1914	34 (63%)	20 (37%)	45 (68%)	21 (32%)
1925-1934	35 (71%)	14 (29%)	61 (86%)	10 (14%)
All Periods	92 (63%)	55 (37%)	132 (62%)	81 (38%)

Table 3

Effect of Time Period on Use of Inverted Pyramid (PYR) in Objective News Reports (ONR) and Non-Objective Reports (NNR)

	ONR		NNR		
Time Period	PYR	Other	PYR	Other	$\chi^2(3, N = 240)$
1865-1874	4	45	4	67	
vs.					137.62 $p<.001$
1905-1914	68	11	30	11	
vs.					9.80 $p<.025$
1925-1934	90	6	20	4	
vs.					175.07 $p<.001$
1865-1874	4	45	4	67	
All Years	162	62	54	82	36.16 $p<.001$ [a]

[a] $N = 360$, $df = 1$.

Table 4

Effect of Time Period on Citing Authoritative Sources (AS) in Objective (ONR) and Non-Objective (NNR) News Reports

	ONR		NNR		
Time Period	AS	Other	AS	Other	$\chi^2(3, N = 240)$
1865-1874	13	36	14	57	
vs.					22.51 $p<.001$
1905-1914	38	41	13	28	
vs.					19.42 $p<.001$
1925-1934	72	24	8	16	
vs.					68.02 $p<.001$
1865-1874	13	36	14	57	
All Years	123	101	35	101	28.02 $p<.001$ [a]

[a] $N = 360$, $df = 1$.

Table 5

Frequency of Objective (ONR) and Non-Objective (NNR) News Reports by Time Period: New York vs. Non-New York Newspapers

	New York		Non-New York	
	ONR	NNR	ONR	NNR
1865-1874	18 (45%)	22 (55%)	31 (39%)	49 (61%)
1905-1914	26 (65%)	14 (35%)	53 (66%)	27 (34%)
1925-1934	32 (80%)	8 (20%)	64 (80%)	16 (20%)
All Periods	76 (63%)	44 (37%)	148 (62%)	92 (38%)

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